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DISALLOWANCE.



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The Disallowance Question, as it is popularly called, cannot be treated by Parliament as a party question. Whatever ardent politicians may desire, the people of Canada decline to range themselves in party attitude on a question of such moment to the commercial future of the country; and the will of the people may be expected to find suitable expression in a Canadian Parliament.

The question before the people of Canada to-day is a simple but a momentous one. Not since the foundations of our Confederation were laid have graver issues been presented for final settlement. Seldom in our history as a people are we likely to be called upon to deal with a question bearing so intimately and so seriously upon our commercial and political future.

The question is this: After an expenditure of public and private funds, amounting to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, in the purchase of the North-West Territory, in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the suppression of two rebellions, the surveying and partial settlement of immense tracts of the newly acquired and newly developed territory, the establishment, over a vast but scantily peopled area, of our political and municipal and local institutions, are we to abandon the country and the commerce we have thus created, and hope to create, and hand it over to the people of the United States? Are we, with our eyes wide open, to foster those railway schemes and private speculations which can



only have a saleable value at the expense of the commerce of our country—a commerce created and secured at such a vast cost to the people of Canada? Must we not only commit commercial suicide but pave the way for the political ruin of our country by supplying the people of the Canadian North-West with the strongest temptations and inducements to abandon our Confederation and link their political and commercial future with the people of the United States? These are the real issues involved in the discussion that has been raised by those in Manitoba who have railway charters and railway property to sell, the value of which will be gauged entirely by the success which may attend their efforts to force the Parliament of Canada to deliver the Manitoban and North-West markets to the traders of Chicago and Saint Paul and Minneapolis and Duluth.

There is no reason why it should be longer concealed that at the bottom of the agitation to compel the Canadian Parliament and Government to sanction the construction of railways into our North-West, are, 1, the St. Paul and Manitoba and Northern Pacific railways, which seek to carry the commerce of Manitoba and the entire North-west to United States trade centres; 2, the Manitoba and North-Western railway company, whose road is built from Portage la Prairie for a hundred miles or more, stretching towards the North Saskatchewan; and 3, the parties whose names are mentioned in the railway charters that are passing through the Manitoba Legislature, and whose lines, when constructed, are expected to reach the United States boundary at such points as will make the charters most saleable to the United States Railway Companies. The last named corporations being in the market as buyers, the Manitoba and North-Western being in the market as a seller, and the charter promoters of Winnipeg standing ready to knock down their ventures to the highest bidder, the motives of the

select few who are laboring to prevent the trade of the North-West coming east to Canadian commercial centres are plain and not to be misunderstood.

We, the business men of the Eastern Canadian Provinces, may be excused if we fail to comprehend all the railway manœuvring that has been in progress for several years in the Canadian North-West; but we do not need to go deeply into the subject to understand that there is at this moment a conspiracy in existence composed of two parties, one, within our own country, that hopes to profit by delivering to the United States the commerce of our North-West; the other, a party that is prepared to accept this steadily-increasing commerce and to pay in hard cash for this great service to United States railway interests, United States trade centres, and United States seaports.

How the successful working out of this arrangement may affect what we may speak of as the selfish interests of the Canadian Pacific railway is an important and not a secondary consideration for the people of Canada. Were the trade of the Canadian North-West diverted to United States points, as the United States railways and their Canadian allies desire, the Lake Superior section of the Canadian Pacific would be rendered comparatively useless; there would be no further use for a line independent of foreign influence; and the present calculations of the Canadian Pacific Company would, of course, be upset forever. But a great corporation, such as this, manipulated by some of the foremost railway minds of America, might be relied upon to protect its financial interests; and, unfortunately, in such a contingency, its interests would lie in the direction of disposing of its lines west of Winnipeg, with its great land grant and valuable telegraphic franchise, to some mammoth United States railway and land and telegraph corporation that would gladly bid high for what would give them the absolute control of the Canadian North-West, with all that this implies.

Our first consideration has to do, not so much with the future of this great railway as with the commerce it has created, the wealth of trade which in the years to come will, by means of it, be distributed throughout our Eastern Provinces, and the beneficial results to all Canada, from a national point of view, of fostering and protecting the interchange of trade between Eastern Canada and the North-West and British Columbia. This is a trade question, and not a railway question. It can become a political and a railway question only after a Canadian Parliament has practically handed over the trade of the Canadian North-West and of British Columbia to the trade centres and ports of the United States.

The extent of that trade in the future may be estimated by what already exists. The Canadian Pacific railway now moves about 300,000 tons of freight a year. We know how small the population is that produces this traffic, and we can assume the proportions which it will take when, instead of one or two hundred thousand people, the North-West is filled with millions of inhabitants, mainly agriculturists, having few manufactures and dependent for manufactured goods upon other communities. Even the production and barter and movement of 300,000 tons of North-west freight mean much to Canadian merchants and manufacturers—to our mechanics and laborers—to our banks and capitalists—to the railway and lake steamers and ocean vessels—to all, in fact, who are engaged in any way in handling the trade of the country. What may we not expect this commerce to amount to when twenty or fifty times as many inhabitants have settled in that country?

The refusal to allow the trade of our North-West to be passed over to a foreign country has been the policy both of Liberal and Conservative Governments. This policy is endorsed by every commercial community in Canada, east of Lake Superior, and by a majority of those of the

North-West. It is a policy which every patriotic Canadian approves. It is a prime factor in a truly National Policy. We must legislate not to build up the trade of foreign countries, but to augment the trade of Canada. Our commercial interests are not in St. Paul or Duluth or Chicago, or Boston or New York, or Portland or Baltimore, but in Toronto and Hamilton, and London and Montreal, and Ottawa and Quebec, and St. John and Halifax and Winnipeg, and a hundred other Canadian trade centres, great and small. For what are we expending hundreds of millions in cash and lands, for railways, for canals and harbors? Is it for the development of Canada or for the development of the United States and *their* cities and harbors? Why should five millions of Canadians undertake, for the extension of trade and commerce and the consolidation and unity of this country, such burthens as no other young country ever assumed, if, at the very outset of a most promising career of development, she can be forced, by a very limited number of people, to reverse her national policy, abandon her dreams of internal trade, based largely on lavish public expenditure, and content herself with seeing her life-blood drained into foreign veins to increase the wealth and strength and energies of a country that refuses to trade with her except on terms which can only result in her complete absorption? To suggest such a retrograde policy is to condemn it. To speak of it as a policy fitted to consolidate the widely separated portions of our common country is to speak the language of insanity.

Let us reflect upon what has occurred in Manitoba and the North-West in a few years.

The people and Parliament of Canada were asked to purchase the North-West Territories, and they did so, at a cost, including the first rebellion, of several millions of dollars. They were asked to build the railway from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, and they did so at an out-

lay in cash and lands of one hundred and twenty millions, which private investments have swollen to two hundred and twenty millions. They were asked to build or to subsidize branch railways, and they did so by gifts of public lands, which enabled our railway companies to provide an expenditure of sixteen millions for branch lines alone. They were asked to survey the public lands, and they have done so to the extent of millions of acres. They have improved the rivers of the North-West and facilitated their navigation. They have fed the Indians at an expense of a million annually ever since the country was taken over. They have expended other millions in getting immigrants into the North-West. They have paid for the machinery of federal and local government, at one time and another, an immense sum, which cannot be definitely calculated at the moment.

In fact, the Canadian people have dealt so liberally with Manitoba and the North-West generally that the result has been a substantial development and progress that are the admiration of all who have been made acquainted with the country's condition. And now that these burthens have been imposed upon the Canadian people; now that those millions have been expended in the development of the country, we are to be coolly told that the time has arrived when all these expenditures, all this progress and development, must be utilized to augment the commerce and enrich the railway traffic of a foreign country, instead of coming eastward over our national highway to national markets and national seaports, and being utilized to the best advantage of the general commerce of our common country! There can be but one reply to such unpatriotic assumptions.

Those who allege as a reason why the trade of Manitoba and the North-west should be tapped and diverted to build up Minnesota and other United States interests pretend that Manitoba has not the necessary railway facili-

ties for reaching the markets of the world. As a matter of fact, however, Manitoba has more miles of railway to her population than any other province of the Dominion, Let us see how she stands in this particular.

The Province of Manitoba has a white population of less than 100,000, and the North-West Territories have a white population of probably 50,000. This tract of country has now lines of railway as follows:—

<i>Canadian Pacific Railway :—</i>	MILES.
Keewatin to Winnipeg.....	129
Winnipeg to Stephen.....	961
Branches to the U.S. border—through Sonthern Manitoba and to Selkirk, etc.....	433
	1523
<i>Manitoba and Northwestern Railway :—</i>	
Main Line.....	180
Branches.....	22
	202
<i>Northwest Coal and Navigation Co.....</i>	109
<i>Regina and Long Lake.....</i>	23
<i>Hudson's Bay Railway.....</i>	40
Total.....	1897

If we were to limit the mileage to the 100,000 people of Manitoba alone, it would be found that the people of that province have more miles of railway and greater and better accommodation in stations, elevators, railway equipment, etc., than any equal number of people in any other part of Canada, or, for that matter, in any other part of the world.

On what grounds do the people of Manitoba ask the merchants, manufacturers, and people of Eastern Canada, to consent to the abandonment of the policy of Disallowance? Not because of insufficient railway facilities, for they have now more than a mile of railway for every hundred inhabitants. Not because their railways are badly built, badly equipped, or badly managed, or because the service is in any way unsatisfactory, for, in these par-

ticulars, even the most violent agitators against Disallowance admit that there is nothing to complain of. It can be then only because the rates are unjust or oppressive, and this, indeed, is the only claim that has been urged. But even if this claim were justified by the facts, it is not a sufficient ground for the reversal of a policy which was adopted for National Protection. The Government has full control over the rates of every railway in the Northwest, the Canadian Pacific as well as the others, and a remedy is within easy reach. If it can be shown that the railway rates in Manitoba or any other section are unjust or oppressive, the people of the whole country will see to it through their representatives in Parliament that justice is done. If Manitoba has been suffering under exorbitant rates for years, why has not an application for redress been made to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, so that the facts on both sides might be brought out? There have been general statements in the newspapers, that the rates of the Canadian Pacific were too high, and these have been answered by counter statements, with figures and comparisons to show that they were not. The people of the country will not be satisfied with newspaper statements, on the one hand, or the assertions of the railway companies on the other; and while they are bound to see that no community is unjustly oppressed by the railways, they are equally bound to see that the vast amount of capital invested in the railways is fairly protected.

It is alleged that Manitoba's markets are not the best, and that her agricultural population could do better were they at liberty to market by other railways than those now running into the province. This contention can not be maintained. The prices of wheat may be taken as a criterion, and it is sufficient under this head to point out that Dakota farmers have carried their wheat into Manitoba to a market, and after paying transportation charges and

Canadian duties have been better off than in their home market.

Equally strong testimony to the satisfactory position of the Manitoba farmer, is the fact that many farmers are selling out in Dakota and taking up lands in Manitoba. On this point the statements of members of Parliament from Manitoba are conclusive.

Of course, it is possible for a railway, such as the St. Paul and Manitoba, or the Northern Pacific, that wishes to carry into the United States the traffic which should flow through Canadian channels, to reduce transportation rates below the cost of hauling, with a view to forcing trade into new channels, and this it might do even for years in the expectation of making the diversion permanent. This is certainly a danger to be guarded against by the commercial communities of Canada; but this is not legitimate railroading; and although it might be done with the object already named and for the further purpose of breaking down our Canadian system of railways which gives us independent connection with our North-western country, it would probably happen that this object once accomplished and the trade of the North-west placed at the mercy of those foreign corporations, our Northwest brethren would find themselves delivered into the hands of hard taskmasters. To learn what United States railway corporations are capable of doing, we have only to look back to the popular uprising against their unfair, unjust and disastrous discrimination and oppression, which has led to the recent iron-clad legislation of the U. S. Congress directed against the entire railway system of that country; and it is only necessary to glance at the railway columns of the United States press to learn that the Canadian Pacific is regarded by the railways there with a feeling of the most intense hostility,—a feeling growing out of the fear of this young and vigorous giant which Canada has created. It is only necessary to

read the proceedings of the traffic meetings of the American railways to discover that, to them, the Canadian Pacific is a disturbing element of the most serious proportions, and one which they feel they must crush at any cost and by means of any possible combination.

If it is shown that the 100,000 people of Manitoba are already better supplied with railways than an equal number of people in any other part of America, that the trade of the country is favoured by moderate railway charges on local traffic, that Manitoba products are carried to their eastern markets and the Canadian seaboard at reasonably low rates, what argument remains to be urged by those who insist upon measures for diverting the trade of that province and the Territories into foreign channels? Is it pretended that United States monies have contributed to the building up of that country? Is it because United States capital has poured into Manitoba, that we should turn the trade of the province into United States channels? Are the people of that province under a heavy load of obligation to United States banks and merchants and railways for standing by them during the days of depression that followed the "boom?" To ask these questions is to answer them. Canadian and British capital alone has been risked in that country, before, during, and since the "boom." To Canadian banks, Canadian merchants, Canadian pluck, Canadian enterprise, it is due that there is any Manitoba, any Canadian North-West. The sacrifices of the Eastern Provinces, through the public resources and the public credit, and of eastern merchants and manufacturers, and the people of the Eastern Provinces generally, have been on no limited scale to make that country what it is to-day. Certainly the railway and mercantile interests of the United States had neither lot nor part in the great work. Whoever or whatever has contributed to the settlement and the commercial development of the Canadian North-West, the people and especially the rail-

ways of the United States have done nothing in *that* direction. That they have busied themselves in the affairs of that portion of our Dominion is not denied. It is, unfortunately, only too true. Their public journals have persistently assailed our North-West. They have slandered the country and its every feature. There has been no form of misrepresentation in which they have not indulged. They encouraged, in one form or another, both of the rebellions in that country. The agents of the U.S. North Western railways have been its bitterest enemies in Europe, poisoning the minds of Europeans against Manitoba and diverting emigration from the country by every means in their power. When emigrants were obliged to pass over United States railways to reach Manitoba, they were waylaid and induced to abandon their trip to point of destination and take up lands in the North-Western States. Where Canada was engaged in building up, these hostile influences were working with all their might in pulling down; and it is within the recollection of the Canadian people that no young and struggling community, no new and well favored province, was ever subjected to such misrepresentation and outrage as were the people and the Province of Manitoba at the hands of the railway interests now seeking to steal the valuable and growing trade of that very country. These are facts which can not be forgotten, and they form a slender basis for claiming to be rewarded by the transfer of Manitoba's trade from its present legitimate channel to foreign marts and foreign ports.

This serious question must be fought out in our Houses of Parliament without unnecessary delay. The future of our North-West Provinces and Territories may as well be settled at once and for good. We Canadians have a country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific—nearly four thousand miles in extent. The population, the wealth, the enterprise lie here in the Eastern Provinces; the vir-

gin prairies, the rich granaries, the great grazing country, the future homes of untold millions lie there in the West. The two great divisions, separated by great lakes and a rocky territory, we have paid enormously to connect, for political and commercial and national purposes, by means of a great railway system, which is so truly national that its movements are watched with as much jealousy as are the operations of the government of our country. To unify this extended country, our government has expended untold millions. To build up our industries, we have adopted a policy of Tariff Protection. To develop our internal resources, we have bonused subsidiary railways without number, all forming part of a national system of internal development. The national interests called for a Short Line Railway connecting Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Quebec, etc., with our winter ports in the Lower Provinces, and Parliament responded to the call. The next step was to require that ocean mail steamships, subsidized by Parliament, should not make a foreign port their point of destination, and the claims of Halifax in Nova Scotia and St. John in New Brunswick were at once conceded by the Government; and Portland in Maine—for thirty years the winter port of the Upper Provinces—was practically abandoned by the Administration. All these indications of the trend of the national sentiment mark the lines on which our future must be built. None of these examples of legislation were accidental; it was the spirit of the people speaking through their representatives.

But why make winter ports at St. John and Halifax for Northwest traffic, why connect Quebec and Montreal and Ottawa and Toronto and Hamilton with the Northwest, why expend untold millions in the Northwest itself, why make ports on Lake Superior and extend the ramifications of our railway system through the Northwest with an energy unparalleled, if we are now to sup-

ply open gates through which the commerce of the Northwest is to be diverted into United States channels to enrich in the future all the foreign agencies through which this commerce is to be distributed? Are the merchants, the manufacturers, the agriculturists, the artisans, the tax paying communities of the Eastern Provinces *en bloc* to be now told that the same Parliament that proclaimed a National Policy for the country is to denationalize the most important part of our country and hand the entire Canadian Northwest over as a slaughter market for the commercial and railway interests of the Western States? Are we to be assured that we were playing the part of fools when we insisted upon the building of the Short Line railway to give us the shortest possible route for the shipment of our winter exports through Canadian harbors?

The Parliament of Canada is bound to consider the consequences of the removal of the barrier which now operates to prevent the absorption of North-West trade by the United States. The influence of a network of railways, pushed from the United States into our new country, may be readily estimated. Through such agencies in virgin territory new channels of trade will be established, and the circumstances of the people and the development of the territory will be made to conform to a foreign railway and commercial system. Once overthrow the railway barrier, the next demand will be for the abolition of the Custom Houses; then will come an agitation promoted by railway speculators and disappointed politicians, for political union with the United States; and the North-West, if not absolutely lost to Canada and the Empire, will be kept in such a fever of excitement as will retard its progress and prevent that harmony and unity with the Eastern Provinces which all true friends of the country desire.

A national policy, to be truly national and permanent in its effects, must consider all the great interests of our

extended country, It must be armed at all points for the protection of all national interests and resources. It can not be of sectional application only. It can not protect our commercial interests at one point and leave them open to attack at other points. It need not be expected to promote prosperity in one quarter while threatening bankruptcy in another. We have a magnificent system of internal railways; let us see that what we do in the way of legislation tends to strengthen that system, not to cripple it. We have established a fiscal system which keeps Canadian trade for Canadians; let us see that we maintain it in the North-West as elsewhere. We have practically guaranteed to Canadian ports the Canadian winter traffic with Europe; let us see that nothing is done which can be construed into a repudiation of the guarantee. In a word, let Parliament at this serious moment declare, without wavering, and with a resolution not to be misunderstood, that it stands by Canadian Commerce, Canadian Railways, Canadian Ports, Canadian Seaports,—by Canadian Interests, first, last, and all the time.

CANADIAN MANUFACTURER.

